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One of my informants stated that there was once a Dragonfly clan, but it developed that he had confused the name for dragonfly, tâpasâná', with that for daddy-longlegs, tâpohsâlâ. The remaining clans are known to all of the older people.

Phratries

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It must not be supposed, even after we have taken out the obscure groups, that the remaining clans were so many distinct entities equal in importance and unconnected. The vast majority of the population was in fact supposed to belong to a comparatively small number of major divisions, which we should probably call phratries, although, with few exceptions, they had no common name. In fact, only two doubtful cases of phratral naming have come to my attention. The appellation Sawanogâlgi, "Shawnee people," is said to have been given to the Aktayatcâlgi, Raccoon, and Fox clans, and perhaps also to the Potato. This was not because there was believed to be any blood relationship between the individuals composing these clans and the Shawnee but because the Shawnee were thought to have supernatural power—particularly that of rendering themselves invisible—developed very highly, and the clans thought that by assuming the name they could attract to themselves some of the same power. The reason why the term was appropriated to this particular set of clans is because the chiefs of Tukabahchee belonged to it, and, as we shall see, relations between the Shawnee and the Muskogee of this town were particularly intimate. In a more extended sense the name Sawanogâlgi was assumed by the entire Tukabahchee tribe during the busk ceremonial. In important busk speeches, speeches delivered just before ball games, etc., the orator would say, "I am of the Sawanogi."

[609 .789]

The second case depends entirely upon the correctness of a statement by Stiggins, who enumerates nine constituent clans of the Creek confederacy, the last being "the isfauna (Isfanâlgi) which is composed of many small clans."[9] Today the Isfanâlgi are barely remembered but Gatschet heard of them,[10] and they are the Kasihta clan "Is-tau-nul-gee" referred to by Hawkins in his sketch, as well as the "Spanalgee" of Hilibi town to which he states that Robert Grierson's wife belonged.[11] Perhaps they were connected with the Ishpani or Sfani totemic division among the Chickasaw which sometimes gave its name to one of the two great moieties in that tribe.[12] This does not have the appearance of a native Indian word, and there is every reason to believe it is intended for "Spanish." Such an interpretation is strengthened by the fact that one of my informants

[9] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 5.
[10] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., vol. I, p. 136.
[11] Hawkins, in Ga. Hist. Soc., Colls., vol. III, p. 132; vol. IX, p. 31.
[12] Mentioned by Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 31.

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"It is an established rule, that pregnant women be entirely alone at the time of delivery; and this rule is rigidly adhered to. Nature seems to have fortified them with strength to undergo the operation without assistance. On the 12th of December, 1790, four women came from the white ground, ten miles from Little Tallassie, to sell horse-ropes to the beloved man. The day was cold and rainy, with a sleet of snow; they stayed all night. About midnight, one of them, a young woman, was taken in travail; her mother was with her, and immediately ordered her to take some fire and go into the swamp, about thirty rods from the out-house where they slept. She went alone, was delivered of her child, and at ten o'clock next morning, being bare-footed and half naked, took the infant on her back, and returned home through the rain and snow, which still continued to fall, without the least inconvenience.

"This circumstance, had I not been present and seen the woman with the infant on her back, I might have been doubtful of its possibility."[83]

Romans says: "The women are just as easily delivered as those of the other savages, and immediately after birth the infant is plunged into cold water."[84]

843

According to Jackson Lewis a prospective mother was not allowed to eat at the same table as the rest of the family.

842

Virility was a matter of pride with Creek men—the more children they had the better—and Adair says that the Indians of his acquaintance entertained "a contemptible opinion of their females that are barren—sterility they consider as proceeding from the divine anger, on account of their conjugal infidelity."[85]

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Among many tribes twins were held in abhorrence and one of them was frequently killed, but Mr. Grayson informed me that the Creeks anciently considered the younger of twins was likely to make an efficient kĭla or prophet.

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Sometimes the child was kept from nursing for four days and was made to swallow certain small roots to make it live long. The same effect was produced by keeping it indoors four months so that no one could see it.

Adair has the following to say regarding the sympathetic magic practiced on Chickasaw babies in order to insure them good fortune:

"Their male children they chuse to raise on the skins of panthers, on account of the communicative principle, which they reckon all nature is possessed of, in conveying qualities according to the regimen that is followed: and, as the panther is endued with many qualities, beyond any of his fellow animals in the American woods, as smelling,

[83] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271.
[84] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 88.
[85] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 72.

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846 •789 strength, cunning, and a prodigious spring, they reckon such a bed is the first rudiments of war. But it is worthy of notice, they change the regimen in nurturing their young females; these they lay on the skins of fawns, or buffalo calves, because they are shy and timorous: and, if the mother be indisposed by sickness, her nearest female relation suckles the child, but only until she recovers." [38]

539 The following cradle songs are from the Tuggle collection, but the phonetics have been modernized, and the translations corrected in some places.

I

FIRST VERSION

No'tcâlit o	It will go to sleep
Ma'kit o	That is what we say
Tcî'tckit o	Your mother
Lutca tâko'tcki	Highland terrapin
Hopo'yit o	Hunting
Ayâ'nkit o	Went
Notci, notci.	Sleep, sleep.

SECOND VERSION

No'tcâlit	It will go to sleep
Ma'kit	That is what we say
Tcîpo'sî	Your grandmother
Lutca tâko'tcki	Highland terrapin
Hopo'yit	Hunting
Ayâ'nkit	She went
Sha'la ka'lis	She would come back [with]
Maka'tcukîn	That is what she says
[Łalaka'li] istce'	The end ("Like Selah")

THIRD VERSION

Notca	Go to sleep!
Notca	Go to sleep!
Notcâ'lit	It will go to sleep
Tcî'łkît	Your father
Ma'kît ayunks	That is what he said and went
Notcâ'lit	It will go to sleep
Ma'kit	He said
Lutca ho'poxan	Terrapin hunting [he has gone]
Notcâ'lit	It will go to sleep

[38] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 420-421.

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726 302 Red and black are well known as war colors down to the present day. Milfort states that the Creeks painted their bodies all over when going to war[a] but my own informants mentioned only the face and breast. Half of the face is said to have been painted red and half black, the first for war and the warpath, the second for the death that was to be dealt at the end of the warpath. Before being applied these paints were conjured in the usual Creek manner—i. e., the medicine man repeated a formula over them and blew into them through a reed. Mr. Grayson has told me that during the Civil War, when the Creeks enlisted in the Confederate army were about to go into action, the Indian doctor who was with them, who was in fact my informant Jackson Lewis, smeared a mixture of red paint and charcoal upon the cheeks and breasts of the Indians, and made a sign like a cross upon them. This last may have been an idea borrowed from Catholic priests. The red paint and charcoal were evidently a survival of the red and black paints of olden times. After the fight he made them bathe in a creek, and then drink some water and throw it up again.

726 •789 Besides the feathers already mentioned I am told that the crow feather was anciently the great feather among the Creeks used principally in war. It probably signified death, but it was conjured over when a party was on the warpath in order to put the enemy into a sound sleep. To conteract this influence the feathers of the blue jay were used. Eagle and sparrow-hawk feathers might be employed in war, but the principal is said to have been the crow feather as mentioned above. The feathers of the white crane signified peace. A formula or song, known as ina hĭta, was sung by a warrior just before he went into battle. This was to preserve him from harm.

701 Jackson Lewis asserted that war leaders were taken only from men who had passed through the period of training described in the section on education, which was undertaken in periods of from 4 to 12 days and involved the acquirement of numerous incantations and medical practices.[aa] They could not, however, be graduates of White clans, and it is evident that they must also be men who had attained distinction in previous warlike enterprises. From the same authority I also obtained the following account of Creek war officers.

The highest of these officers, the one who had particular charge of the war interests of the town, was called hobayi mi'ko, "far-away-chief," and he is probably identical with the man usually known as tăstănăgi lăko. He was the man who declared war. Next in command was the hobayutci, "little-far-away." Third came the tăstănăk hobayi, "far-away-warrior," fourth the tăstănăkutci, "little warrior," fifth the lihomāhti or "trailer," and sixth the lĭhomahtūtci, or "little trailer." These two last were

[a] Milfort, Mém., pp. 32-34.

[aa] See p. 367 and also pp. 617-620 in the second paper of this volume.

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776 There is also a bird called so'datcà'kalà which never looks toward the earth but always straight up into the sky. It makes a noise like a woodpecker, and my informant thought he had heard it at times in the dead hours of the night far up in the air.

Another bird is like a woodpecker but much larger. It lives in pine forests, but the old doctors when they made medicine, and had occasion to refer to it, sang of it as if it originated in the skies. These two last may be real creatures, the former the "sun gazer," the latter a woodpecker.

There was said to be a little deer about 2 feet high and either speckled like a fawn or white, but it differed from a fawn in having very lofty horns. This is called "the chief deer." My informant claimed to have killed one of these.

The water king deer (Wiofû'tc miko) is mentioned as causing certain diseases, and Speck's informant attributed others to the "sky-hog" and the "wolf-in-the-water."

There is also mention of the "spirit of war," which appears to have been in human shape.

Besides the above, in the doctoring formulæ and in the myths we hear of a cat-like creature called isti-papa, "man-eater." This is usually identified with the "lion," while the panther is commonly referred to as a "tiger." It is possible that the conception may have come in after white contact, but on the other hand it might preserve a memory of the jaguar which anciently came as far north as the Brazos River and probably to the Mississippi. The Alabama identify the "man-eater" (Ala. atipa-tcoba) with the elephant, of which they had of course no knowledge until late times.

Alabama Indians also told of certain beings with penises so long that they reached high up into the trees; they were in the habit of striking the trees with these and the noise resulting could be heard for long distances.

The monsters of Muskhogean legend frequently trail their intended victims by means of a roller which is spoken of as if it were endowed with a conscious or semiconscious life of its own. It is described in one place as about 3 inches in diameter and the idea of it is evidently derived from the roller formerly used in the chunkey game.[53a]

CHARMS

778 789 Among these objects, which are rather means of securing supernatural help than active helpers themselves, the sabia were the most important, and they are said to be known to all of the Five Civilized Tribes. I have heard of them personally among the Creeks, Alabama, and Natchez. They were very small objects looking like crystals and when properly treated would bring the possessor success in any

[53a] See p. 436 in the preceding paper.

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emergency of life, in public speaking and in war, but particularly in hunting and in love. If the owner of a sabĭa asked for a thing he would never be refused. The Texas Alabama claim that with them it was only a love charm and had nothing to do with hunting. However, it was a saying that anything that will charm a deer will charm a woman. The word is said to convey the impression of a group of men starting off carrying some particular article, but its origin may have had nothing to do with this. The best account of it was obtained from Jackson Lewis, and in substance it is as follows:

There are different kinds of sabĭa—white, blue, red, yellow, and one that is nearly black. All have a luster like that of glass except the black, which looks like the graphite of a lead pencil. The red and yellow sabĭa are considered the strong ones or the males; the white and blue are the females. If one sits down and watches them a moment they gleam and flash as if they were live things moving about. Lewis owned a white sabĭa and also a blue one for a long time but sold them when he partially lost his eyesight. Upon one occasion he took one of these out, laid it upon the table, and was about to touch it with the point of his penknife when it sprang off to a distance of 2 or 3 feet like a thing alive. According to tradition sabĭa and the knowledge of how they should be used came from the Yamasee, so that in singing the long song which goes with them, but is not used much on account of its sacredness, the word Yamasee continually occurs. The sabĭa was kept in a little piece of buckskin along with red paint, and when a man went out hunting he opened this up, took a little red paint out on the end of a match or straw, and put it on his cheek. Then the deer did not seem wild and there was little trouble experienced in finding and shooting them. This is not done until one has gotten a little distance from camp, and the action is accompanied by a song intended to make the deer approach. Another song may be sung to blind the deer after one has seen him so that you can get as near to him as possible before shooting. During the sabĭa songs the charm itself is not unwrapped. Some sabĭa now in use are said to have been obtained from the Yamasee, while others are reputed to have been borne upon a plant which grows in out-of-the-way places. This plant has minute seeds which fall off when they are ripe and form such crystals. Numerous songs were connected with this charm, and it is said that "one could never finish telling the myths concerning it." Sometimes a sabĭa is found whirling around on gravelly or sandy soil and acting as if it were alive

Another man, who claimed merely to have seen imitations of the yellow and blue varieties but not the true sabĭa, said that they were so powerful that the owner would not keep one in the house. It was put in the middle of a circular piece of buckskin taken from the flank of a deer and tied up tight until it was to be used. When a

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hunter having one of these failed to kill a deer and the sun was already high in the heavens he untied this charm and held it in his hand so that the rays of the sun might fall upon it. Then he sang a song to it which made it wriggle in the paint. Forthwith the deer would be charmed and would sometimes come straight toward the hunter. This man, it is to be noted, differs from Jackson Lewis regarding the unwrapping of the sabĭa. He was less likely to be correct, but on the other hand there were probably many different ways of treatment.

Cook said that unless it is carefully handled and controlled by the right formula the sabĭa will injure its owner by exciting him "sexually" or affecting his wife and daughters in the same manner. Therefore it was generally not carried on the person unless its owner was ready for an emergency and had his formula constantly in mind, which makes it entirely safe. It is easily lost, and will jump away quickly. The roots of the sabĭa hâlgi ("sabĭa wife") were also used as a charm. This is one of the first plants to come out in spring. These charms are still in use, being employed largely as love charms.

Still another informant suggested that the "fox fire" sometimes seen in punk perhaps originated the sabĭa idea; the phosphorescent light was associated with the daylight luster of these crystals and hence supposed to be self-derived—i. e., the result of a volitional act on the part of the stone. The following account of the plant and mineral sabĭas is from the Tuggle collection:

"A man once went to the woods and remained in solitary meditation for four days. He wandered alone till he heard a soft, low, sweet voice, singing a song. He listened and watched. He saw a beautiful little flower, swaying gracefully back and forth. He knew the song came from the little flower. Around the flower the ground was swept clean. He listened until he had learned the song. Suddenly he felt that he possessed a wonderful power, which he could impart to any object. Any one who had such an object in his possession became lucky. He could succeed in love, in the chase, and in war. Often bits of stone possess this power. The color of these charmed stones is white, red, and yellow. They are called 'Sar-pce-yah.'" [44]

One of the vegetable sabĭas was called sabĭa hagi ("like a sabĭa"). It has a globular root and a white flower, said to be the first flower to appear in spring. When a man discovered such a plant he set up a stake near by to mark it so that he could dig it up when it got big enough. That time having arrived, the prospective owner went to the river and dived into it four times. Then he procured a piece of white buckskin, put some red paint on this, and placed the root on the paint. It was then laid away carefully in a secure, dry place

[44] Tuggle, Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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away from the house, for if it were in the latter place the whole family would go wild and act like deer at the rutting season. When the owner wanted to go hunting he took a little paint from around the root and put it on his face, and if he were going far the whole charm could be carried along.

Another sabīa was known as sabīa hátki ("white sabīa"). It has small leaves and a bunch of black berries at the top, and grows to the height of about 1½ feet. If a man chewed a little of this when he was out hunting he would immediately encounter a deer. It also had power to attract women.

The sabīa crystal was, at least by some, believed to come from a plant. This is shown by the following account of this charm taken down by Mr. G. W. Grayson from an Indian doctor, Caley Proctor, the use of which has been kindly allowed me by Mr. Grayson's family.

"The subbea is often found in the bulb of a rare plant. The plant is never found growing abundantly in any locality. It is pulled from the ground and from the bulb is stripped off each outer coating until the center is reached when there will be found something, a very small piece of broken glass, red, amber, or of some other color. It is taken out and put into a small quantity of red paint, and the whole is securely wrapped in a small piece of white dressed buckskin. This is the famous subbea, especially useful in giving luck to hunters who know the song and sing it to the enclosed subbea, or success to him who desires to win the affections of one of the opposite sex."

Jackson Lewis had heard of two other roots used by the Creeks in hunting, though they were not spoken of as sabīas. One he had never seen. The other was a very small plant with a very small bulbous root. The root is rubbed over the eyelashes two ways, horizontally and vertically, when it produces success in hunting. If one has had bad or inauspicious dreams during the night and does not feel encouraged to go out hunting these bulbs will free him of this feeling and "set him up" for the day.

A third root had been obtained from the wild tribes of the west. If one made lines with this one on the face and hands and a straight mark on the bottom of the foot he would have good luck. It would also stop nosebleed. The western Indians claim that when they administer it to a horse about to run a race the horse always wins. Jackson Lewis himself once had a piece of this medicine and testified to its power.

As a charm against snake bite they hung the thigh bone of the highland terrapin about the necks of children.

Adair speaks of a beaded string of bison hair which Indian women tied around their legs as "a great ornament, as well as a preservative against miscarriages, hard labor, and other evils."[46]

[46] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 169.

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When a nail or some similar object was run into the body the red-headed woodpecker called tĭtka was used as a charm to get it out. The "ark" which they carried to war was another kind of charm. When they defeated the French under D'Artaguette they insisted on killing the priests because they believed the articles for the performance of the mass which the latter carried were the French ark and the priests its keepers.[56]

A piece of the horn of a horned snake was one of the greatest charms. Some men claimed that they had been able to charm such a snake by their songs so as to bring it to the bank of the stream, when they obtained a piece of one of its horns. This was kept in a hollow tree or some other place remote from the house lest it should make the children sick.[56a]

An Alabama hunter carried a piece of the root of the wâtola imbâkca ("crane's cord") in his ball pouch, and if he could not find deer he would sing and talk to it, blow upon it, and then chew it. Then he was sure to find and kill the animals.

Bartram speaks of the "physic-nut, or Indian olive" as similarly used, and says: "The Indians when they go in pursuit of deer carry this fruit with them, supposing that it has the power of charming or drawing that creature to them.[57] Although the identification is a little uncertain this seems to be the fruit of the *Triosteum perfoliatum* or "horse gentian."

The early white traders were often so affected by native superstitions regarding charms that they placed unbounded confidence in them themselves. Thus Adair says that he took the foot of a "guinea deer" out of the shot pouch of one of these men "and another from my own partner, which they had very safely sewed in the corner of each of their otter-skin pouches, to enable them, according to the Indian creed, to kill deer, bear, buffalo, beaver, and other wild beasts in plenty." Argument proving unavailing he was constrained to return them to their owners lest an accident might befall them and the blame be laid upon him.[58]

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At times, it would seem, an Indian would turn upon his charm and throw it away if it did not appear to him to be sufficiently active in his behalf. Adair mentions a case in which an Upper Creek Indian burned himself so badly in the fire when under the influence of liquor that he became furiously angry with it, upbraiding it for its treatment of him after all of the food he had given it. It is added that from then on he became godless, though perhaps only with respect to that particular element. Adair says that he had witnessed several instances of "impiety" of like nature.[59]

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[56] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 154–155. See pp. 411–412, 425.
[56a] See p. 429.
[57] Bartram, Travels, p. 41.
[58] Adair, op. cit., p. 239.
[59] Ibid., p. 116. Also see p. 494.

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Magical songs or formulas accompanied the use of most medicines and charms, and very wonderful things were supposed to be accomplished by these. "By a word" a man could stand aside in the war-path and render himself invisible to the enemies. "By a word" a man could even condense the whole world in such a way that he could go around it in four steps. A certain Indian in recent times "conjured" his field and sprinkled it with miko hoyanĭdja, and, "while the crops all about were ruined, he had a good harvest."

Tribal medicines or palladia such as are often met with in other parts of America were almost unknown to the Creeks unless we include the "ark" or war medicine under this head. Adair and some later writers mention a human figure carved out of wood in one of the upper towns,[80] and I myself was told of a wooden eagle with drops of blood represented issuing from the corners of its mouth which was brought out and planted in front of the miko's bed at Coweta when anything of importance was to be discussed. The Creek chief James Islands spoke of articles used by various towns during the celebration of the busk and held in great reverence, and he instanced large conch shells out of which the Coweta Indians took their black drink. These, he said, they had had for a long time and preserved with great care. But there is no certainty that these things were really palladia. Nevertheless, there is one apparent exception, the famous copper and brass plates preserved by the town of Tukabahchee. Hitchcock says that, in his time, these were kept in a small house which stood by itself tightly shut up, situated near the tcokofa, but at a later period, and apparently at an earlier one also, they were in the sanctuary behind the middle section of the Chiefs' bed. The small detached houses, such as Hitchcock describes, were built in several of the square grounds and I have seen some of them, but I was given to understand that they represented a recent institution, being used probably as a protection against the all-consuming curiosity of the white man. The plates were brought out once annually at the time of the busk and formed the principal feature in one of their dances to be described presently. The first account of them that has come down to us is by, or rather through, Adair and is of the utmost importance. It runs as follows:

"In the Tuccabatches on the Tallapoose river, thirty miles above the Allabahamah garrison, are two brazen tablets, and five of copper. They esteem them so sacred as to keep them constantly in their holy of holies, without touching them in the least, only in the time of their compounded first-fruit-offerings, and annual expiation of sins; at which season, their magus carries one under his arm, a-head of the people, dancing round the sacred arbour; next to him their head-warrior carries another; and those warriors who chuse it,

[80] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 22-23.

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Elsewhere he states that "when in the woods, the Indians cut a small piece out of the lower part of the thighs of the deer they kill, length-ways and pretty deep. Among the great number of venison-hams they bring to our trading houses, I do not remember to have observed one without it."[96] Again "the Indian women always throw a small piece of the fattest of the meat into the fire when they are eating, and frequently before they begin to eat. Sometimes they view it with a pleasing attention, and pretend to draw omens from it. They firmly believe such a method to be a great means of producing temporal good things, and of averting those that are evil."[97] He was informed by those whites who had become used to living in the Indian manner "that the Indian men observe the daily sacrifice both at home, and in the woods, with new-killed venison; but that otherwise they decline it."[97]

Of course most of these are merely taboos connected with the hunting of deer. Pope says on this point:

"The *Creeks* regularly make a Burnt Offering of what they conceive to be the most delicious Parts of every Animal taken in Hunting, before they presume to taste a Mouthful. The Parts they commit to the Flames are proportioned to the Size of the Animal, probably about 2 or 3 lb. from a *Buffalo*, and still less in a regular gradation down to the smallest Quadrupede, Fish or Bird."[98]

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I have no confirmation or contradiction of the gradations of sacrifice here mentioned, but it is well known even to the living Indians that the old people used to put a little food into the fire before eating. The same thing is noticed in Adair's account of the Creek who railed upon the fire for burning him after the good treatment he had given it.[99] One of my informants had seen the Nuyaka Indians "feed the fire" with turkey during their fall festivities accompanied by hunting and ball games.

TABOOS

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The religion of these people, and, as we shall presently see, their medicine, was seamed through and through with the idea that similarity in appearance means similarity in nature, that similarity in one property involves similarity in all the other properties, and that association of any kind will result in communicating properties from one thing or person to another. This is particularly true about things which are taken into the system by eating and drinking, but applies in other ways as well. Adair says on this point:

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"They believe that nature is possest of such a property, as to transfuse into men and animals the qualities, either of the food they use, or of those objects that are presented to their senses; he who

[96] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 137–138.
[97] Ibid., p. 115.
[98] Pope, Tour, p. 58.
[99] See p. 464.

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feeds on venison, is according to their physical system, swifter and more sagacious than the man who lives on the flesh of the clumsy bear, or helpless dunghill fowls, the slow-footed tame cattle, or the heavy wallowing swine. This is the reason that several of their old men recommend, and say, that formerly their greatest chieftains observed a constant rule in their diet, and seldom ate of any animal of a gross quality, or heavy motion of body, fancying it conveyed a dulness through the whole system, and disabled them from exerting themselves with proper vigor in their martial, civil, and religious duties." [1]

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A little farther on he tells us that it was customary in all the Indian tribes to eat the heart of a slain enemy "in order to inspire them with courage." He had seen some of their warriors drink out of a human skull in order to "imbibe the good qualities it formerly contained." [2]

This idea is one of the cardinal principles on which their medicine is built and was shared by every tribe in America that has been investigated. Adair introduces it in order to draw a parallel between the taboos of the Israelites and those of the Indians, but most of the Indian instances which he cites are to be accounted for in the way explained by him above or because it was believed that the animal in question would bring on a certain disease, a matter to be elaborated presently. Nevertheless it is worth while to take note of the things from which they abstained in his time, even though we fail to discover in that traces of a Jewish origin. He says that they refused to eat all birds of prey and birds of night, and a little farther on he mentions specifically eagles, ravens, crows, buzzards, swallows, bats, and every species of owl. He also adds flies, mosquitoes, and gnats. They did not eat many carnivorous animals or such as lived on nasty food, as hogs, wolves, panthers, foxes, cats, mice, rats. All beasts of prey except the bear were "unhallowed"—also all amphibious quadrupeds, horses, fowls, moles, the opossum, and all kinds of reptiles.[3] He says that the old traders could remember when they first began to eat beaver.[4]

Hogs and domestic fowls were probably tabooed at first because strange to the Indians and in the case of the hog because it is a heavy, awkward looking animal and might communicate such properties to the eater.

"When swine were first brought among them, they deemed it such a horrid abomination in any of their people to eat that filthy and impure food, that they excluded the criminal from all religious communion in their circular town-house, or in their quadrangular holy ground at the annual expiation of sins, equally as if he had eaten unsanctified fruits. After the yearly atonement was made at the temple, he was indeed re-admitted to his usual privileges." [5]

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[1] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 123.
[2] Ibid., p. 125.
[3] Ibid., pp. 126-128.
[4] Ibid., p. 132.
[5] Ibid., p. 128.

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the contrary he must go to cold running water in the morning, even though it were covered with ice, and, breaking the ice, if necessary, plunge into that. He must go in when daylight first showed itself and remain until the sun was up.[138a] This, of course, applies to the baths universally taken in the Southeast every morning and may be overdrawn in details.[14]

An individual taboo of my informant, or means of obtaining luck, was to drink from a cup held in his right hand while he faced the east.

The Natchez and Cherokee ate their food cold, believing it was better for their teeth.

Breaking wind was associated with manliness.

Among the Creeks I was told that when a story-teller finished his narrative he would spit, and then another would have to contribute a story in return, and in this way the cue was taken up by one after another "until the children went to bed."

MUSIC AND DANCING[138b]

Their musical instruments were the drum, rattle, and a kind of flute. Adair makes mention of a stringed instrument, and the mere notice of this would be important if we could prove that it was truly aboriginal. Pope speaks of the Indians in his time dancing for several hours to the music of the violin; but if so, this was a late innovation. The flute was used only by individuals and was never employed in ceremonies, as was constantly the case with the drum and rattle. The Alabama flute was made of two pieces of cedar hollowed out and fastened together with buckskin. There were six holes along the sides toward one end and on top toward the other was placed a separate piece of cedar covering two additional holes. All were bound with buckskin at frequent intervals. Flutes were sometimes made of cane. It may be said of the drum and rattle that the one was an almost invariable and the latter a very frequent accompaniment of their dances.

The drum was made by sawing off a cypress knee close to the ground and stretching a buckskin over the wide end (pl. 13, *a*). This buckskin was wet from time to time to make it sound properly. Anciently an earthen pot was also employed, and in later times they resorted to a keg partly filled with water and covered with buckskin or cowhide. The rattle was made of a gourd containing 30 or 40 small pebbles, with a stick about a foot long run through it as a handle. In later times a coconut was substituted for the gourd. The chief of the Mikasuki remembered to have heard of still another kind of

[138a] Or as another informant expressed it, "from the second call of the crow until sun up."

[14] See pp. 395-398.

[138b] The interested reader should consult "Ceremonial Songs of the Creek and Yuchi Indians," by Frank G. Speck, in Anthropological Publications of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, vol. I, no. 2, Philadelphia, 1911.

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garments and ornaments, mentioned under a former argument, page 84, are put on, and then bear's oil is poured upon their head."[3]

Certain things were done to ward off misfortune before any actual ill effects had been experienced—an aboriginal application of the ounce of prevention axiom. Hitci pakpagi, the "old man's tobacco," was kept on hand as a protection against the souls of the dead, and a great deal was paid for it. Some of the busk medicines were carried home to help guard the family from harm during the succeeding year, and just outside of and above the door of one of my informants was hung the adilōga or mixed medicine used at that time, while the other medicine, the miko hoyanĕja, was hung just to one side within. This is said to be a common custom with the old-time Indians. At intervals it was thought best to scratch the grown-up men in order to let out bad blood, supposed to have become clogged up inside of them. An Okfuskee Indian told me that he had only recently performed such an operation on 13 men at Nuyaka. These were adults; usually only the young people were scratched.

When a hunting party set out and as soon as it had gotten to the edge of the town, an old man would fall back behind the rest, chew up some sassafras or angelica root, and spit it out toward each of the cardinal points four times. Then he would walk back, singing, and do the same thing four times more. This ceremony was supposed to counteract anything that the spirits of the living might do to injure the hunt by thinking or talking too much about the hunters or by making sport of them. When they came into the settlement on their return they built a fire in a place apart by themselves and sang and danced the stomp dance there all night to prevent the fires they had lighted during the hunt from creating diseases among the families.[4]

The following performance belongs in the same category as the phenomena just considered.

"In the Summer-season of the year 1746 [says Adair], I chanced to see the Indians playing at a house of the former Mississippi-Nachee, on one of their old sacred musical instruments. It pretty much resembled the Negroe-Banger in shape but far exceeded it in dimensions: for it was about five feet long, and a foot wide on the head-part of the board, with eight strings made out of the sinews of a large buffalo. But they were so unskillful in acting the part of the Lyrick, that the *Loache*, or prophet who held the instrument between his feet, and along side of his chin, took one end of the bow, whilst a lusty fellow held the other; by sweating labour they scraped out such harsh jarring sounds, as might have been reasonably ex-

[3] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 122.
[4] Further information on hunting ceremonies will be found on pp. 444-445.

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pected by a soft ear, to have been sufficient to drive out the devil if he lay anywhere hid in the house. When I afterward asked him the name, and the reason of such a strange method of diversion, he told me the dance was called *Keetla Ishto Hoollo*, 'a dance to, or before, the great holy one';[5] that it kept off evil spirits, witches, and wizards, from the red people; and enabled them to ordain elderly men to officiate in holy things, as the exigency of the times required.

"He who danced to it, kept his place and posture, in a very exact manner, without the least perceivable variation: yet by the prodigious working of his muscles and nerves, he in about half an hour, foamed in a very extraordinary manner, and discontinued it proportionally, till he recovered himself."[6]

The Indians were and still are satisfied that their system of doctoring is vastly superior to that used by the whites, but the system of white doctoring with which the Indians were formerly familiar can not be said to represent upon the whole a very perfect development of the medical art, and there has been more than one occasion for them to complain like the Chickasaw of Adair's time of the performances of "civilized" surgeons. The success of native remedies was due in part without doubt to the real medicinal virtues of the plants used, in part to the good effects of such a simple assistant as sweat bathing, and perhaps to a greater extent to the power of suggestion. Swan was, however, quite right in saying that the results were not ascertain as had commonly been reported.[7]

WEATHER CONTROLLERS

Besides the healers there were men and women who professed to be able to cause rain or drought, to blow away the clouds, or "blow the rain" as they described it. When a storm was coming up an Alabama doctor would blow into his clasped hands, rub them together, and then wave them upward and outward. Then, even if it rained, the wind would not blow. The same person claimed to be able to cause rain or drought.

Hitchcock says: "There are people who affect to think they can make it rain and they go to a piece of shallow water and roll and wallow in the muddy water every morning for four mornings in succession. They have a pot of medicine in one hand and a buffalo tail in the other and sing continually for an hour or more. During this time they take black drink every morning."[8]

He also gives some interesting particulars regarding the meteorological activities of Megillis Hadjo, the prophet or kïla of Tukabah-

[5] Hïla ishto holo, "dance of the spirit or spirits"; hïla, "dance"; ishto, "big"; holo, what is "holy, sacred," or "supernatural."

[6] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 178.

[7] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271.

[8] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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his arts, he was sure to be found out and killed himself by the man's relatives with the same kind of weapon he had seen in his vision. 754

In speaking of doctors I have mentioned the native belief that they owed their power to animals of various kinds, but that if these became too strong they would kill the doctor and leave him. The same idea appears in witchcraft, although my information here is specifically from the Alabama and Koasati. When a man became a witch these Indians believed he was full of lizards, which compelled the person of whom they had possession to kill someone every little while. If he did not they would begin to bite him and would finally devour him. Such a person could be cured, however, by undergoing a treatment to expel the lizards.

After a would-be wizard had completed his course of training, the teacher directed him to begin by killing one of his own family. He gave him medicine and told him to go and do so immediately. If he said he would not kill his own people, the instructor answered "Go on! you said that is what you wanted to do." But if he urged him repeatedly to no purpose, he said, "All right! kill a fox squirrel and bring it here!" After he had done so, the instructor said, "Throw it on top of the house." The wizard-novice did this, and after the body had remained so long that it stank, the other said, "Eat it!" Then the instructor conducted him to a place where there was water and said, "Vomit on the water." So he threw up and discharged lizards until the water was covered. The witching powers went with them.

The Koasati cured a wizard by binding spunk wood all over his chest and belly, taking him to a place where there was water, and rolling him over and over there, when he would throw up lizards in the manner described.

A milder form of witchcraft was that exercised by a man or woman to inspire love in a person of the opposite sex. The following account of such a conjuration is also from the Alabama of Texas. 789

When a youth fell in love he would sometimes, especially if he were rejected, go to a male or female conjurer for assistance. Then the conjurer would take some tobacco, put it into a small deerskin sack, sing, and repeat the girl's name, and blow into it through a short cane. After doing this four times he would wrap it up in a handkerchief and give it to the young man. The latter would then put on his head band and his other fine clothing, sprinkle some tobacco over his clothes, make a cigarette, and blow the smoke all over himself. Then the girl would fall in love with him. A girl could make a man fall in love with her in precisely the same way. Sometimes, however, this would be tried in vain several times. Then the conjurer would go to a small brook and make a little water hole, perhaps half a foot deep. He would blow into this four times through a cane, repeating the girl's name each time. The youth

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789 would then come there, stoop down and drink some of the water, and throw it up again into the pool. He would do this four times. Then he would divide the dam that held the water in this pool and let it all run away. After that he would go to a large creek, remove his clothing, and dive under water four times. Then he would come out and lie in the bushes almost all day (having started out early in the morning) so that no one could see him. About 3 o'clock he started home, avoiding meeting or speaking to anyone. In perhaps a week he would dress himself up as before and go to see the girl he was in love with, who would then fall in love with him. Sometimes, however, the girl's mother would make medicine against him so that he could not succeed in spite of all his efforts.

DISEASES AND REMEDIES

General Remarks

164 To the discussion of this subject I will prefix the following general remarks from Bartram regarding the diseases of the Indians in his time. However superficial, it has the advantage of being the only statement of the kind belonging to an early period from a man competent to express anything like a scientific opinion.

"The Indians seem in general healthier than the whites, have fewer diseases, and those they have not so acute or contagious as those amongst us.

"The small-pox sometimes visits them, and is the most dreaded of all diseases.

"Dysentery, pleurisy, intermittent fevers, epilepsy and asthma, they have at times.

"The hooping-cough is fatal among their children, and worms very frequent. . . .

"They have the venereal disease amongst them in some of its stages; but by their continence, temperance, powerful remedies, skill in applying them, and care, it is a disease which may be said to be uncommon. In some towns it is scarcely known, and in none rises to that state of virulency which we call a *pox*, unless sometimes amongst the white traders who themselves say, as well as the Indians, that it might be eradicated if the traders did not carry it with them to the nations when they return with their merchandise; these contract the disorder before they set off, and it generally becomes virulent by the time they arrive, when they apply to the Indian doctors to get cured." [20]

753 We will now turn to the native conception of diseases and their remedies. This is best illustrated in the abstract by the following myth collected by Dr. Frank Speck from an old Creek medicine man known as Kabitcimala (Kapitca imala), or Laslie Cloud.

[20] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, pp. 43-44.